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AUTHOR Harry, Joseph
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ABSTRACT

The role of adolescent sexual behavior in educational attainment has been overlooked. Homosexual and heterosexual men were interviewed to test for a correlation between adolescent sexual activeness and educational attainment, as well as any link between childhood masculine sex roles and early sexual activity. Approximately 1,000 volunteers, stratified by age, sex, race, and education to obtain matched samples, answered questions about their education, frequency of adolescent heterosexual and homosexual experience, high school academic performance, adolescent sociability, parents' education, relative attachment to parents, and present sexual orientation. Results indicated that while early sexual activity did not affect performance in high school, it did affect attitudes toward further education after leaving high school. This suggests that attitudes developed through adolescent sexual involvement become operative after graduation when individuals are faced with a choice between marriage and further education. Findings also supported a positive correlation between childhood masculine interests and early sexual intercourse. (LP)

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ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY, MASCULINITY-FEMININITY, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

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Joseph Harry

Northern Illinois University

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ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY, MASCULINITY-FEMININITY, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Abstract

The hypothesis was tested that an early involvement in sexual activities during adolescence may constitute a set of interests which are competitive with achievement activities, and particularly educational ones. It was also explored whether commitment to the masculine gender role among males may be associated with less educational attainment through contributing to adolescent sexual intercourse. These hypotheses were tested on samples of matched homosexual and heterosexual men. It was found that the gays were disproportionately educationally upwardly mobile relative to their class origins and that this appeared to be due to their lesser involvement in heterosexual sex during adolescence. It was also found that heterosexual intercourse during adolescence was negatively associated with educational attainments of both samples while early coming out and its attendant sexual activity seemed to inhibit educational attainment among the homosexual men. A childhood commitment to male-typed activities was found to be associated with adolescent sexual intercourse.

ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY, MASCULINITY-FEMININITY, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The goal of the present work is to assess potential incompatibility between educational attainment and adolescent sexual activeness. Also considered is the question of the extent to which the masculine gender role may foster such early sexuality and thereby indirectly contribute to a lack of educational attainment through encouraging a measure of early decontrol of adolescent behavior. Miller and Simon(1974) reported that, among adolescent females, extensive experience with sexual intercourse was associated with a substantial lack of plans to go on to college - data for males were not presented. These suggestive data may mean that there is a measure of incompatibility between an early explicit involvement in sexuality and further educational attainment. If such incompatibility exists, two potential scenarios seem likely candidates for explaining it. First, adolescent involvement in intercourse may constitute a single measure of involvement in a broader set of deviant activities. As reported by Vener and Stuart(1974), experience with sexual intercourse has substantial correlations with juvenile delinquency, negative attitudes toward the police, drug use, and negative attitudes toward teachers. This complex of adult-disapproved phenomena is also usually found to be negatively associated with high

school grades, college plans, and attachment to conventional others (Hirschi, 1969:111-130;Polk and Halferty, 1972:74).

As suggested by Hirschi(1969:163-170) such early involvement in status offenses, including intercourse, may constitute a premature assumption of adult legal prerogatives. However, early involvement in sexual behaviors may be especially consequential because the area of sexuality, unlike, smoking, curfew violations, and other status offenses, can both provide repeatedly pleasurable rewards and come to occupy a considerable amount of the adolescent's available time and energies. To the extent that the adolescent becomes involved in explicit sexuality and the accompanying time-consuming activities of dating, searching for partners, and acquiring the resources to facilitate these activities, the sphere of sexuality may become a self-reinforcing set of activities which are competitive for the adolescent's interests with those of educational attainment. Sexuality, pursued successfully, can also serve to free the adolescent from the controls of conventional adults as the peer-group also does to a degree.

In an alternative but not neccessarily incompatible scenario college plans and related anticipations of the future may inhibit early involvement by adolescents in sex. If the adolescent lacks plans for education beyond high school the future in which one is substantially freed of the controls of adults is brought closer by several years. Lack-

ing college plans, the job expectations of many adolescents will be fairly limited and many will anticipate, but not necessarily look forward to, fairly routine jobs that can provide a limited standard of living. In contrast, a future of involvement in sex, with or without marriage, plus other enjoyable leisure-time activities, may be anticipated as the principal areas in which one can focus one's "central life interests"(Dubin,1956). Given such anticipated futures, present controls may seem artificial anc patience be strained. Under this interpretation sexuality becomes a fallback central life interest for those without further educational or occupational ambitions.

If there is some incompatibility between adolescent involvement in sexuality and achievement motivations, this could explain Harry's(1982:117-118) finding that, among both heterosexual and homosexual males, those who reported being seriously interested in girls during high school or who dated frequently were poorer high school students. In his data on gay and non-gay male college students the gays were found to have been better high school students than the non-gays but this difference vanished after either interest in girls or dating was controlled. It could also explain data suggestive that homosexual males may be disproportionately upwardly mobile in terms of education, as reported by Reiche and Dannecker(1977) who found that gay college students in West Germany came from families of lower socioeconomic standing

than did German male college students as a whole. Of course, the interpretation that differences in involvement in sexuality can explain these gay/non-gay differences turns on the assumption that the gays are less sexually active than the heterosexuals during high school due to a lack of opportunities for involvement in homosexual sex plus, perhaps, a disinterest in heterosexual sex.

If there is an incompatibility between achievement and adolescent heterosexual involvement, one would also expect that, among gays, there might be a similar incompatibility between early homosexual activity and educational attainment. However, it appears that most gay men defer much of their sexual activity until they are freed from adult supervision and "come out" to the homosexual world at approximately age 19 or 20(Dank,1971;Harry and DeVall, 1978:64). After the discovery of the gay world during late adolescence or early adulthood there often occurs a considerable expenditure of sexual energies as the individual finds himself in a situation of many readily available sexual partners, few constraints on sexual activities by conventional others, and a new peer-group who can provide legitimations for sexual behaviors which one's former high-school peers positively discouraged. As suggested by Gagnon and Simon(1973:156-157), when coming out is associated with an explosive degree of sexual and social involvement with other gays - termed "crashing out" by Coleman(1982) - involvement in educational

or occupational attainment can suffer. Consistent with this, Saghir and Robins (1973:127-128) found that "A comparison of homosexual and heterosexual men who attended college revealed that homosexual men who started college were more likely to drop out before graduation." It may thus be that sexual activity, when pursued under conditions which do not readily foster its routinization in forms such as marriage may interfere with educational attainment among both homosexual and heterosexual males, although possibly marriage may also interfere with achievement(Havens,1973).

GENDER-TYPING AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

The meanings of sexual intercourse for validation of the adolescent male's masculinity may vary by social class. While the ability to state to peers, particularly male ones, that one is experienced in intercourse is likely to validate both one's masculinity and pretensions to adulthood, the extent of such validation is likely to vary by social class and the extent to which one associates with a homosocial (same sex)

or heterosocial (mixed sex) peer group (Gagnon and Simon,1973:68-69). Positive validation of one's experiences with intercourse are probably more likely when one's peers are male since females may feel threatened or estranged by a male's description of sexual encounters which might reflect discreditably on an adolescent female's reputation. Such

homosocial peer groups seem to occur more among working class adolescents(Gagnon and Simon, 1973:67-71). Working class adolescent males also may be relatively more oriented to validation of their masculinity through reports of sexual accomplishments to same-sex peers due to a potentially greater emphasis on the importance of masculinity. As reported by Duncan and Duncan(1978:272-275), conformity to gender-role standards is more highly valued among working-class persons, especially by fathers, and especially for their sons. The import of this is that, to the extent that sexual experience is a validation of masculinity, and to the extent that masculinity is positively valued, masculinity may indirectly contribute,

via intercourse, to a deemphasis on educational attainments.

It is possible that an emphasis on masculinity may also contribute directly to the devaluation of education when that masculinity is interpreted in terms of physical behaviors such as athletic or sexual accomplishments. For example, Stein and Smithells(1969) asked second, sixth, and twelfth grade students to rate the following abilities as to their masculinity and femininity: athletic, spatial/mechanical, arithmetic, reading, artistic, and social. All three grade levels were strongly agreed that these activities ranged from very masculine to very feminine in the order here listed. Similarly, Stein and Hoffman(1978), studying sex-role strain among male college students, reported that athletic abilities

were extremely highly valued during high school but that later both athletes and those lacking athletic abilities came to view them as less desirable than they formerly had. The import of these data seems to be that the male role, as interpreted by pre-adult males, depicts masculine achievement principally in terms of athletic and sexual behaviors and that an emphasis on such behaviors, while highly valued in adolescent youth culture(Coleman, 1961:28-30), may interfere with the development of skills, e.g., reading, which are more useful in the adult, and particularly the educational world. Hence, the masculine role may both directly through its pre-adult emphasis on physical skills and indirectly through its emphasis on sexual prowess constitute an obstacle to educational attainment, particularly in its working-class formulations.

Consistent with the notion that masculinity and education may be partially incompatible, Kagan and Moss(1962:169) reported from a 20 year longitudinal study that boys interested in opposite-sex activities during the ages of six to ten were disproportionately located in intellectual occupations as adults. Hence, it is possible that a less than enthusiastic committment to the male role during pre-adulthood may have benign longer-run consequences. However, it is clear that in the shorter run boys who are interested in feminine activities or disinterested in masculine ones suffer rejection by their peers and often are

loners(Kagan and Moss, 1962:158;Fagot, 19 7;Green, 1976). Given their alienation from the obtaining male peer culture, particularly working-class male peer culture, and their attendant status problems, Harry(1982:26-32) has suggested that many may solve those problems by becoming interested in the alternative, if somewhat "sissified" culture of academic and artistic interests. Through scholastic attainment they may be able to obtain rewards in an otherwise reward-poor environment. Similarly, Gagnon(1979) has suggested that youths who are alienated from their peer culture or poorly adjusted for any of a variety of reasons, including a disinterest in masculine-typed activities, may use their alienation as a source of motivation for achievement. If such is the case, adjustment and a strong gender-role identification, while temporary sources of reward, may in a longer run become disadvantages.

In the light of the above reasoning the following hypotheses were formulated: (1) Experience with sexual intercourse is negatively associated with both being a good high school student and attained years of education among males, and these associations are not spurious due to parental social class; (2) Childhood masculinity-femininity of interests is positively associated with adolescent sexual intercourse among males; (3) Less certainly, childhood masculinity-femininity of interests may be directly negatively associated with being a good high school student in-

dependently of experience with sexual intercourse. (4) Homosexuals may be found to be disproportionately better high school students and have more education than heterosexual males relative to their classes of origin. The rationales for the latter hypothesis are that we expect homosexual males to be engaged in less sexual activity during adolescence than heterosexual males and that, as widely reported in the literature(Harry, 1982:49-53; Saghir and Robins, 1973:18-21;Whitam, 1977, 1980), gay males are much less interested in male-typed activities during childhood than are non-gay ones. (5) The experience of homosexual sex through early coming out may be negatively associated with educational attainment among gay men. (6) Hypotheses (1) through (3) may hold more strongly among respondents from working class backgrounds.

METHODS

Sampling. The data for the present work were provided by the Kinsey Institute and consist of the heterosexual and homosexual male respondents from their San Fransisco study. Since the sample selection procedures have been reported in detail by others(Bell and Weinberg, 1978:30-44), they will be briefly summarized here. A large pool of several thousand homosexual volunteers for interviewing was acquired from a wide variety of sources - gay bars and baths, friendship networks, gay organizations, locales of gay sexual activity, and advertising in the general media. These volunteers were

stratified on age, sex, race, and education. Sampling was ther done within each of these strata so as to create heterogeneity on these demographic variables. Two to five hour interviews with the homosexual respondents selected were ther conducted during the Fall of 1969. Then a comparable sample of heterosexual respondents was selected from the Bay Area through probability sampling of census tracts and blocks and quota sampling within blocks. The quotas employed within blocks were designed to equate the gay and heterosexual respondents on age, race, and education within each sex. Thus, the heterosexuals were standardized on the homosexual demographics via sample selection. Gays and non-gays who had lived in the Bay Area for less than a year were not interviewed. The interviewing of the heterosexual respondents began late in 1969 and was completed during the Spring of 1970.

Measures.

Education. Coded as follows: 0 = 8 years or less; 1 = 9-11 years; 2 = 12 years; 3 = some college ; 4 = B.A. or equivalent; 5 = some graduate work; 6 = Master's Degree ; 7 = Doctorate.

Frequency of Adolescent Heterosexual Intercourse. The question asked was "How often did you engage in sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite sex (during the ages 14 through 17)?" The response categories are: 0 = never; 1 =

once; 2 = 2-6 times; 3 = 7-12 times; 4 = 13-25 times; 5 = 26-50 times; 6 = over 50 times.

Frequency of Adolescent Homosexual Sex. The question asked was "When you were of high school age, how often did you have homosexual relations?" Response codes are the same as for heterosexual intercourse. This question was asked only of homosexual respondents.

Good High School Student. The question asked here was "Generally, during those years were you an above average student, an average student, or below average?" The respective response codes are 2,1, and 0. The general wording of this question was designed to avoid both inability to recall precise grade point averages and grade inflation.

Age of Coming Out. The question here asked was "At what age would you say you became a part of a homosexual clique or crowd?" The question was asked only of homosexual respondents. Since 13 percent of the gay respondents replied "never", they are excluded from those regression analyses below dealing with age of coming out among gay respondents but returned to for separate analysis. As asked, the question appears to tap a somewhat later stage of the coming out process of affiliation with other gays which in the present data occurs at a median of 21.2 years among those who came out. The measure does not get at the earlier occurring stage of self- identification as gay which seems to occur at about age 19 or 20 (Dank,1971;Harry and DeVall, 1978:64) while the gay

person is still partially immersed in the heterosexual world. The responses are coded in years.

Childhood Isolate. This measure is designed to get at the exclusion of those who do not conform to pre-adult standards of gender-appropriate interests. The constituent questions are "During these years (grade school) ,to what extent were you a loner?" and "After regular school hours, how much of your leisure time was spent with kids your own age?" Response categories were "Much(3), Some(2), Very Little(1), Not at all or Very Little(0)". The alpha-reliability for this measure is 0.62. A parallel measure of adolescent isolation consisting of identically worded questions for the high school years was developed, but since it proved to have no significant relations with the outcome variables of interest, it was dropped from the analysis.

Father's Education. Education of the father or father surrogate. The codes are the same as for the respondent's education.

Mother's Education. Education of the mother or mother surrogate. The codes are the same as for the respondent's education. Because some respondents could not recall, or never knew, parental education, particularly the father's, these measures result in some missing data.

Attachment to Father. The question here asked was "While you were growing up, to what extent did you want to be the kind of person your father was?" Response codes are: Very Much(3),

Somewhat(2), Very Little(1), Not at all(0).

Attachment to Mother. The same question as for the father was asked about the mother with the same response categories. These two measures are designed to get at the concept of attachment to parents which is featured so prominently in control theoretic writings(Hirschi, 1969:83-85).

Sexual Orientation. All respondents were asked to rate themselves on the Kinsey Scale separately for both their sexual behaviors and their sexual feelings. This scale runs from Exclusively Heterosexual(0) to Exclusively Homosexual(6). Respondents obtaining a combined score on these two scales of four or more were classified as homosexual, following the practice of Bell and Weinberg(1978:38n), and here coded 0 with the heterosexuals coded as 1. While this dichotomizing may treat a few bisexuals as either homosexuals or heterosexuals, the very large majority of respondents are located in the two pairs of categories at the extremes of this continuum. Although the data provided by Kinsey et al. (1948:636-641) treat sexual orientation as a continuum, it should be noted that the Kinsey measures were very largely based on behavior rather than on preference. More recent research among males only(Freund, 1974) which measures sexual orientation through penile responses to erotic pictures has failed to locate any males who respond equally to persons of both sexes. Without further vexing the issue of whether sexual orientation is a continuum or a dichotomy, it is noted

that, although some true bisexuals or "ambisexuals"(Masters and Johnson, 1979:144-150) may exist, sexual orientation among adults, as commonly measured by Kinsey Scales, approximates a dichotomy in its distributions.

Childhood Masculinity-Femininity(CMF). The measure here developed consists of the following items: "To what extent (during grade school) did you enjoy specifically boys' activities, e.g., baseball, football?"; "To what extent did you enjoy specifically girls' activities, e.g., hopskotch, playing house, jacks?"; Describe the kind of person you were during the time you were growing up - Masculine . . . Feminine." The Pearsonian correlation between the first two items are -.30, indicating a measure of bipolarity of sex-typed interests during childhood. Hence, the third and definitely bipolar item was included in the scale. The alpha-reliability of this scale is 0.69 among the male respondents.

It should be noted that the here-employed measure of childhood masculinity-femininity is designed to get at preferences for sex-typed interests and not at the psychological characteristics of "aggresiveness" and "affiliativeness-warmth" which are often called and operationalized as "masculinity" and "femininity", respectively(Bem,1974;Spence and Helmreich, 1978). While there is great sex-typing of cultural interests, and especially during childhood, it is not clear that these differences are paralleled by cor-

responding differences in psychological "masculinity" and "femininity." For example, it was found by Spence and Helmreich (1978:21-22) that their psychological scales of masculinity and femininity had little or no association among adults with the measures of sex-typed interests found in the California Personality Inventory Fe Scale. Hence, although both cultural and psychological scales are typically found to be associated with sex, their lack of substantial association with each other renders them non-equivalent measures of the concepts they purport to measure.

Since some of the measures here employed, and particularly that of childhood masculinity-femininity involve recall data, some discussion of their validity is in order. Scales of childhood masculinity-femininity similar to the present one have been repeatedly and reliably employed at several places in the United States and in other countries to distinguish the childhoods of heterosexuals and homosexuals(Bell and Weinberg, 1982:75-77, 147-148;Saghir and Robins, 1973: 19, 193; Harry,1982: 63; Whitam, 1977,1980). Typically found differences are quite large and on the order of 60 to 70 percentage points, although much of this difference in sex-typed interests usually vanishes by adulthood(Harry,1982:51-64). Hence, only the validity or meaning of such scales may be reasonably questionable. Bearing on the validity of such recalled childhood interests is the great similarity of those homosexuals who were cross-

gendered during childhood, as recalled by adults, to the direct observations by researchers of cross-gendered boys and girls(Green, 1976; Zuger, 1966). The similarities of observed and recalled cross-gendered childhoods include, among males, the trait of a major and persistent interest in acting or dramatic portrayals(Green and Money, 1966; Harry, 1982:52-53; Whitam, 1977,1980). While the meanings of this major correlate of childhood cross-gender interests among males are presently incompletely understood, the significance of this odd trait for the question of the validity of recall data seems to be that it is rather unlikely that such a peculiar trait would arise in adult recalls of childhood interests without a basis in reality.

The accuracy of recall data has been found to depend heavily on the significance of the phenomena at hand(Sudman and Bradburn, 1974:84-85). Events of minor significance such as small purchases are recalled poorly. However, events of greater significance, such as the purchase of major appliances are recalled with considerably greater accuracy. Also, more global estimates of behaviors are recalled with greater accuracy than are attempts to recall precise or dated frequencies. Bearing on this, several authors(Marshall et al.,1980;Kolonel, Hirohata, and Nomura,1977) have found great consistency between the reported frequencies of consumption of foods as stated by husbands and confirmed by their spouses, even though it has also been reported that many sub-

jects can not recall what was consumed on a given recent day(Greser and Entyre,1978).

Hence, recall data appear to be at their best when the questions are of a global nature and when the events are considered significant by the respondents. Bearing on the significance of childhood gender-typed interest, Saghir and Robins(1973:19) reported that all of their gay male respondents who were cross-gendered during childhood "were called sissy and teased about it by their schoolmates. It was an unhappy experience that most of them recalled very vividly."

Design. Because of two significant interactions involving father's education and variables of major interest, the regression analyses below have been divided in two and done separately for those whose fathers had 12 years or less education and those whose fathers had more education(Pedhazur,1982: 362-365). In these parallel analyses the measures are divided into: (1) the purely exogenous (attachment to mother, attachment to father, mother's education, sexual orientation, CMF); (2) those pertaining to childhood (childhood isolation); (3) those pertaining to adolescence (teenage intercourse, good student); and (4) adult years of education. In specifying the regression model adolescent intercourse and being a good high school student are potentially nonrecursive in their relationships. However, since in only one of four analyses do these two measures prove to have a

significant ,but weak, relationship, this problem largely drops out. Childhood isolation is predicted from the exogenous variables and in turn employed to predict the adolescent and adult measures.

Following the analyses of all respondents by father's education, the homosexuals are then analysed, again separately by father's education, in order to see whether age of coming out and engaging in adolescent homosexual sex may predict their educational attainments. Since the question about adolescent homosexual sex was not asked of heterosexual respondents, it was not included in the analyses of all respondents, although the measure of adolescent heterosexual intercourse is also included in the analyses of the homosexuals only. Since homosexual sex and heterosexual intercourse during adolescence were found to be modestly positively associated, these two measures are treated as exogenous along with the purely exogenous and childhood measures. This leaves education, age of coming out, and good student as endogenous measures. Since 13 percent of the gay respondents said they never came out, as operationalized, this group is excluded from the homosexuals- only analysis predicting education from age of coming out. However, these "nevers" are a theoretically important group and briefly attended to in a final analysis.

The total male respondents available in the sample consist of 686 homosexuals and 337 heterosexuals. Listwise

treatment of missing cases was employed and the resultant respective N s became 633 and 328. Most of this reduction in sample size is due to a number of respondents not being able to recall their father's education. As can be seen, this loss is slightly greater for the homosexuals (8 percent) than for the heterosexuals (3 percent) and largely arises because the former were somewhat more likely to come from broken homes. The measures of father's education referred to either the father or the father surrogate.

RESULTS

The Pearsonian correlations among all the measures at hand are presented in Table 1 for all respondents. While many of these

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

are of little present interest or simply confirm existing knowledge, e.g., the positive association between father's education and attachment to father, some require comment. The strong positive correlation between a heterosexual orientation and having masculine- typed interests during childhood is a topic of intense silence in the present work. Which of these causes which is quite unknowable in present knowledge, and Bell et al.(1981:216-218) observe that the understanding of CMF very likely involves the understanding of the determinants of sexual orientation, including possible

biological ones. Of considerable interest to the present hypotheses is the significant positive association between father's education and sexual orientation. Given that the heterosexuals and the gays are equal, by sampling design, on their own education, this association seems to offer a direct proof of Reiche and Darnecker's(1977) hypothesis of "compulsive upward mobility" on the part of the gay men, and suggests that a homosexual orientation, or some correlate of it, may facilitate educational mobility.

A significant interaction was found involving respondent's education, CMF, and father's education($F=7.97$, $df=3, 957$, $p. < .01$).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 shows that childhood masculinity-femininity is positively associated with education among respondents from more educated households, but negatively among those from less educated households. (A similar test for an interaction with mother's education proved non-significant.) This interaction suggests that masculinity among working-class respondents may eventuate in attained educational levels among sons consistent with those of their fathers while having an opposite effect among those from more educated households. A second interaction which appeared involved teenage intercourse, sexual orientation, and father's education($F=4.78$, $df=3, 957$, $p< .05$). Being heterosexual is a good deal more strongly as-

sociated with experience with adolescent intercourse among those from less educated households. Although the correlations are suggestive a further test for an interaction involving adolescent intercourse, CMF, and father's education proved non-significant. The rather differing patterns of association of adolescent intercourse by father's education with the other variables of Table 2 suggest that the gender-related variables of sexual orientation, adolescent intercourse, and CMF may be more polarized or dichotomous among those from less educated households, consistent with the observations of others(Duncan and Duncan,1978:272-275).

Tables 3 and 4 present the regression coefficients by father's education for the outcome variables of education, good high school student, and adolescent intercourse. In the following discussion we start with education and proceed backwards. For respondents

TABLES 3 AND 4 ABOUT HERE

of both levels of origin good student, mother's education, and adolescent intercourse have significant links with education independently of the effects of the other's. It thus seems that adolsecent sexual activity may be somewhat incompatible with educational attainment. Predicting good student in the present data proved not very profitable since it was found to have no significant predictors among those with more educated fathers and only weak ones among those with less

educated fathers. Among the latter, being heterosexual was found to be negatively associated with being a good student, as reported by Harry(1982:125), while attachment to father was found to be positively associated with good student, consistent with the findings of control theorists(Hirschi, 1969:118). However, since being homosexual and attachment to father are negatively associated with each other, (cf. Table 2), these two predictors suppress each other's effects. That sexual orientation was found to be associated with good student only among those from less educated households may indicate that a non-conventional sexual orientation, or a number of other chactacteristics which distance working-class adolescents from involvement in the culture of their peers (Gagnon,1979), may loosen class ties and impel them into attainment.

The major predictor of adolescent intercourse for both groups was found to be childhood masculinity-femininity. Masculinity of interests, independently of sexual orientation, may facilitate early sexuality or, alternatively, early sexuality is likely to be defined as an indicator and validator of one's masculinity. Hence, among both groups CMF appears to be have indirect negative effects on adult educational attainment via adolescent intercourse. That age was found to be negatively related to adolescent intercourse among both groups seems to indicate a modest historical increase in adolescent sexuality in recent decades (Miller and

Simon,1974). That childhood isolation and sexual orientation are significantly linked to teenage intercourse only among those from less educated households can arise due to the larger sample size for this group or, in the case of sexual orientation, may indicate a stronger polarization of gender-related phenomena in working-class culture.

The weak positive association of CMF with education found among respondents from more educated households was unanticipated and suggests that masculinity may also have more benign effects among middle-class respondents. As a post hoc interpretation, it may be that what constitutes masculine activities may differ somewhat in middle-class and working-class cultures and that activities consistent with or facilitative of educational attainment may be more likely to be defined as masculine in middle-class worlds. For example, White and Brinkerhoff(1981) exploring the assignment of sex-typed household tasks to sons and daughters found that "parents with high education and more liberal sex-role values make substantially less distinction between the work of their sons and daughters". Similarly, Albrecht(1976) reported greater sex-stereotyping of occupations among less educated adults. Suffice for the present that adolescent sexual intercourse appears to have some direct negative links with educational attainment among both groups of respondents while CMF is also negatively related to education via intercourse.

As reasoned above, if early heterosexual activeness may

negatively influence education, early homosexual activeness should also have a similar effect among homosexuals. However, in this case such homosexual sex is very largely deferred until the coming out process which occurs shortly after leaving high school or during the conventional college years. In the analysis predicting education of the homosexual respondents, age of coming out and good student are treated as endogenous. Since adolescent heterosexual intercourse and adolescent homosexual sex are positively and significantly associated for both gays with more and less educated fathers since there is no basis for considering one uniquely dependent on the other, the latter two variables plus all others are treated as exogenous. Also added to the predictors is the size of the community in which the respondent grew up. The relevance of this measure is to allow for the possibility that those gay respondents who grew up in larger cities might have come out earlier because of the greater visibility and availability of gay communities in large cities. City size is thus a measure of opportunity. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 6 and 7 with the zero-order correlations in Table 5. For both groups of respondents age of coming out

TABLES 5, 6, AND 7 ABOUT HERE

is positively associated with education as are mother's education and good student. Among those from less educated

households attachment to mother was also found to be positively associated with son's education, while participation in adolescent heterosexual intercourse again proved negatively associated with education. Turning to predicting age of coming out, age and experience with homosexual sex during adolescence prove positively associated with age of coming out among both groups. A notable difference between the predictors of age of coming out among the two groups is that only among those from more educated households does childhood masculinity have a positive association with age of coming out. As a post hoc interpretation, it may be that masculine-typed gays in a middle-class culture which is more tolerant of gender-atypical interests, including homosexuality(Nyberg and Alston,1977;Levitt and Klassen,1974), may feel less excluded by or alienated from that culture and hence defer coming out. A further difference in the predictors of coming out between the two groups is that only among those from less educated households is there a significant association between city size and coming out early, although this may be due to the differing sample sizes of the two groups.

Turning to the predictors of good student, attachment to father was found to be positively linked to good student among both groups while adolescent heterosexual intercourse had a negative association with good student only among those from more educated households. The latter association is the only case where there is a significant link between the

adolescent sexuality variables and good student and indicates that, although there may be a measure of incompatibility between adolescent heterosexual intercourse and scholastic conformity in high school, such incompatibility seems to occur only in the narrowly-defined population of gay male youths from middle-class backgrounds. In contrast, the other analyses presented thus far indicate that the effect of adolescent intercourse on education seems direct and not mediated through being a poor high school student.

In the analysis of the links of age of coming out with education those gays who said they had never become socially affiliated with other gays were excluded. However, these individuals are a theoretically crucial group since, if they never came out, one would expect them to have educational levels comparable to those who came out late or after the completion of their education. As a preliminary analysis of this group they were compared on all the other variables of Table 5 with those who came out earlier than age 22 and those who came out from 22 on, using a one-way analysis of variance. While those who never came out resemble the late comers out or most of these measures and are in between the other two groups on education, the major difference found was that they are younger than the late comers out and quite similar to the early comers out(F=35.63, df=2,682, p. < .001). The the mean age of the nevers is 32.98 (s.d.=13.31); the mean age of the earlys is 32.10 (s.d.=10.89) and the mean

age of the lates is 39.73 (s.d.=11.23). Given that they average six years younger than the late comers out whom, by our theorizing, they should resemble on education, the possibility was entertained that some of them might still be acquiring that education and that a control for age would render the nevers and the lates more similar. A difficulty which then surfaced in the analysis was that the three-category classification of age of coming out into early, late, and never is a nominal variable. While education might be predicted in a regression analysis from that nominal variable using dummy coding(Pedhazur,1982:274-283), age of coming out is also endogenous. It was decided to employ a log-linear analysis. Table 8 presents education by age of coming out by age. In this table variables are referred to by letters and the notation of partial correlation has been adopted.

TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE

The most notable finding of this table is the significant interaction, the ECA term. Those who never came out resemble the early comers out in terms of education for the youngest age group. However, for the middle age group they gain on the early comers out and for the oldest age group they are the most educated. It thus appears that some of those who never came out may be still in the course of acquiring education and will eventually join the late comers out. That the nevers resemble the late comers out in education for the

oldest age group but not the youngest seems to support the offered interpretation of there being some incompatibility between sexual activity and the attainment of education, whether that sexual activity is heterosexual or homosexual.

DISCUSSION

The first hypothesis to the effect that adolescent intercourse would be negatively related to education and to being a good high school student received considerable support for the link to education and very little for the link to good student. The lack of a notable link to good student implies that the link of sexuality to education may both be more direct than through good student and become operative after high school, i.e., the incompatibility arises after one has finished high school and then faces options for the future. However, the major choices one then faces are those involving further education, or work and/or sex through the then-legal institution of marriage. So formulated, the findings of the present analyses bear on the question of whether early marriage interferes with college education or does college education result in the deferment of marriage? Call and Otto(1977) found a negative association between educational attainment and marriage but concluded that it was spurious due to their mutual association with the prior variable of academic high school performance (grades). However, their analysis assumed that marriage might only affect educa-

tion but not the reverse among the males they studied. Marini(1978) employed two-stage least squares in a sample of both males and females in order to sort out the reciprocal effects of age of marriage and education and found influences in both directions for females but for males the influence was only from education to age of marriage. That is, males appeared to defer marriage until the completion of their education. If we may assume that Marini's finding for males is reliable, the present data permit us to explore the separate contributions of education and teenage intercourse to age of marriage among those respondents who ever married. Regressing age of marriage on all the variables of the present analysis available for both sexual orientation groups, the significant standardized regression coefficients are: education, .152; age, .438; adolescent intercourse, -.210; sexual orientation, .10. (The homosexuals may marry somewhat earlier than the heterosexuals because of the association of age of marriage with age of coming out in that group(r=.21, N=107, p< .05). That is, after having come out, fewer will be inclined to marry.) This regression was analysed by both father's education and sexual orientation and the results were all quite similar. These data may help illuminate some of the findings concerning age of marriage and education since they indicate that early sexual experience seems to be a notable predictor of early marriage and, since the zero-order correlation of teenage intercourse

and age of marriage is -.34, it seems that teenage intercourse may contribute to early marriage both directly and through lessened education. It may be useful to conceive of the incompatibility of education and early intercourse as largely the adolescent version of a later incompatibility of education and early marriage.

The present findings indicate that the omission of measures of adolescent sexual behavior from research on status attainment, and particularly on educational attainment, may be a serious omission. Both Marini(1978) and Call and Otto(1977) complained that few variables had sizable direct effects on age of first marriage. This may arise because the area of sexuality is somewhat independent from the variables typically employed to predict attainment. In the present data those variables which predicted adolescent intercourse included childhood masculinity-femininity of interests and sexual orientation. However, the latter variables have rarely been explored in the course of analysing attainments. The present data also suggest that gender-related variables may be of greater significance among persons from working-class backgrounds since it was found that these variables had more and larger coefficients in that group.

CONCLUSIONS

The first hypothesis that teenage sex would be negatively related both to education and to being a good high school

student was supported in the first part and not in the second. The second hypotnesis that childhood masculinity of interests would be related to adolescent sexual intercourse found considerable support. The third hypothesis that masculinity might be negatively related to being a good high school student found no support. The fourth hypothesis that gay males are more educationally mobile than heterosexual males relative to their origins was supported, although the link between sexual orientation and education was found to be mediated through good student and adolescent sexuality. Education was also found to be negatively related to early coming out but adolescent gay sex was only indirectly related to education via its impact on early coming out; thus the fifth hypothesis found some support. The sixth hypothesis that the first three hypotheses might hold more strongly for those from less educated households found no support. Allowing for different sample sizes in those from more and less educated households, the patterns of association found were quite similar. An unanticipated finding was that childhood masculinity of interests was positively associated with education among those from more educated households. This was interpreted as possibly indicating somewhat differing definitions by social class in the contents of the masculine role, or, somewhat differently, as indicating the presence within middle-class culture of a larger number of activities typed as gender-neutral such that participation in those

activities need not result in the participant being defined as gender-deviant.

While it is generally recognized that the institution of marriage is a significant factor for the study of attainment, the above data indicate that the area of sexuality, particularly early sexuality, is relevant to attainment. Given that sexuality brings to activities a source of immediately gratifying rewards which can compete with other more socially structured or controlled rewards, it should not be surprising that sexuality can have independent effects on attainment activities. While societies everywhere have attempted to control the definitions and expressions of the sexual, such control is clearly far from complete. While much of the control of sexuality appears to be effected through definitions of gender-appropriate or gender-deviant behaviors, the present data indicated that, though defining sex as a particularly masculine behavior, socialization into masculinity may also result in early and disapproved of sexual expression. Attempts to conform to gender roles may thus be associated with loss of control in other areas.

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TABLE 1

PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS AMONG ALL MEASURES FOR ALL RESPONDENTS[a]

	Educ[b]	Faed	Good Sdtnt	Child Isol	Masc -Fem	Attch Moth	Attch Fath	Sex Or.	Maed	Adol Sex	Age
Educ	XXX	.20	.38	.02	-.03	.10	.08	-.01	.23	-.15	.13
Faed		XXX	.16	-.01	.06	.05	.20	.11	.56	.00	-.11
Good Stdnt			XXX	.02	-.02	.07	.12	-.06	.12	-.06	-.01
Child Isol				XXX	-.34	-.06	-.20	-.28	.02	-.19	.02
Masc -Fem					XXX	-.17	.30	.63	.05	.40	-.04
Attch Moth						XXX	.17	-.11	.07	-.05	.03
Attch Fath							XXX	.27	.15	.12	.00
Sex Or.								XXX	.05	.30	-.02
Maed									XXX	.02	-.20
Adol Sex										XXX	-.19

a. The N for all correlations is 961. Coefficients greater than absolute .06 are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed tests.

b. The respective means and standard deviations for the variables are: education, 3.60, 1.55; father's education, 2.21, 2.02; good student, 1.47, 0.62; CMF, 4.60, 2.88; attachment to mother, 1.51, 1.02; attachment to father, 1.29, 1.07; sexual orientation, 0.34, 0.47; mother's education, 2.03, 1.48; adolescent sex, 1.21, 1.85; age, 34.96, 11.94.

TABLE 2

PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS AMONG ALL MEASURES BY FATHER'S EDUCATION[a]

	Educ[b]	Good Stdnt	Child Isol	Masc -Fem	Attch Moth	Attch Fath	Sex Or.	Maed	Adol Sex	Age
Educ	XXX	.36	.03	-.11	.09	.01	-.08	.11	-.18	.11
Good Stdnt	.36	XXX	.04	-.06	.06	.10	-.11	.03	-.06	.01
Child Isol	.00	-.01	XXX	-.34	-.07	-.19	-.29	.03	-.23	.04
Masc -Fem	.09	.04	-.34	XXX	-.17	.29	.65	.03	.45	-.05
Attch Moth	.06	.06	-.06	-.19	XXX	.15	-.11	.03	-.04	.01
Attch Fath	.11	.07	-.23	.29	.18	XXX	.26	.06	.12	-.01
Sex Or.	.04	-.04	-.25	.59	-.14	.23	XXX	.03	.37	-.01
Maed	.17	.09	.00	.03	.05	.09	-.05	XXX	.01	-.20
Adol Sex	-.12	-.06	-.12	.31	-.08	.14	.20	.04	XXX	-.23
Age	.20	-.02	-.02	-.02	.08	.05	-.02	-.17	-.13	XXX

a. Respondents with fathers of 12 years or less education are above the diagonal; those with fathers of more education are below. The N s are 633 for the former and 328 for the latter. For the former coefficients greater than absolute .08 are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed tests; for the latter coefficients greater than .10 are significant.

b. The respective means and standard deviations for those with less educated fathers are: education, 3.33, 1.47; good student, 1.40, 0.62; child isolation, 2,60, 1.56; CMF, 4.71, 2.92; attachment to mother, 1.46, 1.04; attachment to father, 1.15, 1.06; sexual orientation, 0.30, 0.46; mother's education, 1.53, 1.21; adolescent sex, 1.21, 1.83; age, 35.50, 11.59. The corresponding respective statistics for those with more educated fathers are: education, 4.11, 1.58; good student, 1.60, 0.62; child isolation, 2.60, 1.60; CMF, 4.40, 2.79; attachment to mother, 1.63, 0.98; attachment to father, 1.56, 1.04; sexual orientation, 0.41, 0.49; mother's education, 3.01, 1.49; adolescent sex, 1.22, 1.88; age, 33.95, 12.53.

TABLE 3

REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES FOR MALES WITH FATHERS HAVING 12 OR LESS YEARS EDUCATION(Standardized in parentheses)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	Child Isol	Adolescent Sex	Good Student	Education
Maed				.147(.120)
s.e.				.045
Age		-.033(-.211)		.013(.101)
s.e.		.005		.005
Sex.Or.	-.410(-.121)	.475(.119)	-.192(-.142)	
s.e.	.166	.183	.055	
Masc-Fem.	-.150(-.282)	.206(.328)		
s.e.	.026	.029		
Attch Moth	-.198(-.132)			
s.e.	.056			
Attch Fath			.080(.136)	
s.e.			.024	
Child Isol		-.095(-.080)		
s.e.		.043		
Adol Sex				-.115(-.143)
s.e.				.030
Good Stdnt				.820(.345)
s.e.				.086
R^2	.140	.256	.028	.174
a	2.714	3.00	1.562	1.638

TABLE 4

REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES FOR MALES WITH FATHERS WITH MORE THAN 12 YEAR EDUCATION(Standardized in parentheses)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	Child Isol	Adolescent Sex	Good Student	Education
Maed				.194(.182)
s.e.				.053
Age		-.018(-.120)		.029(.227)
s.e.		.008		.006
Sex.Dr.				
s.e.				
Masc-Fem.	-.172(-.300)	.208(.308)		.060(.106)
s.e.	.031	.035		.029
Attch Moth				
s.e.				
Attch Fath	-.221(-.145)			
s.e.	.082			
Child Isol				
s.e.				
Adol Sex				-.089(-.106)
s.e.				.044
Good Stdnt				.864(.337)
s.e.				.127
R^2	.136	.111	.000	.220
a	2.192	2.743	1.601	1.536

TABLE 5

PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION FOR GAY RESPONDENTS[a]

	Educ[b] 01	Age Out 02	Good Stdnt 03	Child Isol 04	Masc -Fem 05	Attch Moth 06	Attch Fath 07	Gay Sex 08	Maed 09	Adol Sex 10	Age 11	City Size 12
01	XXXX	.22	.37	-.02	-.05	.12	.08	-.08	.10	-.12	.11	.05
02	.29	XXXX	.11	.17	.05	-.13	.08	-.32	-.10	-.08	.47	-.14
03	.32	.01	XXXX	-.02	.01	.03	.11	-.05	-.04	-.03	.05	-.03
04	-.04	-.04	.00	XXXX	-.21	-.08	-.13	-.13	.00	-.21	.12	-.09
05	.17	.21	.15	-.26	XXXX	-.12	.20	-.04	.08	.35	-.07	-.06
06	.09	.04	.09	-.02	-.22	XXXX	.15	.07	.00	.00	.00	-.04
07	.15	.16	.14	-.16	.22	.10	XXXX	-.04	.03	.10	.00	.01
08	-.04	-.16	.01	-.06	.06	-.06	-.01	XXXX	.09	.12	-.03	.07
09	.18	-.03	.02	.00	.14	.01	.08	-.09	XXXX	-.02	-.17	.08
10	-.07	-.07	-.13	-.11	.30	-.12	.13	.11	.06	XXXX	-.18	-.03
11	.11	.54	-.18	.02	-.04	.09	.05	.10	-.13	-.02	XXXX	-.06
12	-.08	-.09	.01	.06	.05	-.09	.04	-.01	-.01	.02	-.09	XXXX

a. Respondents whose fathers had 12 years or less education are above the diagonal. Those with fathers of more education are below. Among the former coefficients greater than absolute .09 are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed tests. Among the latter coefficients greater than .14 are significant. The N s for the former are 390 and for the latter are 164.

b. The respective means and standard deviations for those with less educated fathers are: education 3.41, 1.48; age out, 22.21, 6.06; good student, 1.44, 0.60; child isolation, 2.85, 1.55; CMF, 6.03, 2.44; attachment to mother, 1.57, 1.06; attachment to father, 0.96, 1.00; gay sex, 3.20, 2.23; mother's education, 1.49, 1.23; adolescent sex, 0.77, 1.40; age, 35.96, 11.06; city size, 3.05, 2.01. The corresponding respective statistics for those with more educated fathers are: education, 4.01, 1.54; age out, 23.28, 6.07; good student, 1.59, 0.61; child isolation, 2.86, 1.69; CMF, 5.76, 2.64; attachment to mother, 1.78, 0.95; attachment to father, 1.36, 0.99; gay sex, 2.89, 2.31; mother's education, 3.00, 1.51; adolescent sex, 0.87, 1.47; age, 34.48, 12.84; city size, 3.33, 1.76.

TABLE 6

REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES FOR BAYS WITH FATHERS HAVING 12 OR LESS YEARS EDUCATION(Standardized in parentheses)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Good Student	Age Out	Education
Maed			.153(.128)
s.e.			.055
Age		.247(.451)	
s.e.		.023	
Masc-Fem			
s.e.			
Attch Moth		-.747(-.130)	.187(.134)
s.e.		.241	.064
Attch Fath	.063(.108)	.527(.087)	
s.e.	.030	.254	
Child Isol			
s.e.			
Adol Sex			-.094(-.090)
s.e.			.048
Bay Sex		-.777(-.286)	
s.e.		.113	
Good Stdnt			.837(.342)
s.e.			.112
City Size		-.291(-.097)	
s.e.		.125	
Age Out			.050(.203)
s.e.			.011
R^2	.012	.340	.209
a	1.373	17.359	0.657

TABLE 7

REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES FOR GAYS WITH FATHERS HAVING MORE THAN 12 YEARS EDUCATION(Standardized in parentheses)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Good Student	Age Out	Education
Maed			.185(.182)
s.e.			.071
Age	-.009(-.188)	.272(.575)	
s.e	.004	.029	
Masc-Fem		.565(.246)	
s.e.		.141	
Attch Moth			
s.e.			
Attch Fath	.107(.172)		
s.e.	.048		
Child Isol			
s.e.			
Adol Sex	-.064(-.154)		
s.e.	.032		
Gay Sex		-.612(-.234)	
s.e.		.161	
Good Stdnt			.779(.310)
s.e.			.176
City Size			
s.e.			
Age Out			.074(.291)
s.e.			.018
R^2	.077	.402	.214
a	1.812	18.922	.496

TABLE 8

LOG-LINEAR ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION BY AGE OF COMING OUT BY AGE

Age(A)	Age of Coming Out(C)	Education(E) -12 Yrs	13-16 Yrs	17 Yrs+	N(100%)
-25 Yrs	Never	38	47	15	34
	-21	32	60	8	119
	22+	6	52	42	33
26-36 Yrs	Never	13	65	22	23
	-21	28	48	24	91
	22+	21	51	28	85
36 Yrs+	Never	12	46	42	33
	-21	33	50	17	104
	22+	22	44	35	163

		Partial Associations		Marginal Associations	
Effect	df	LR Chi-squared	p.	LR Chi-squared	p.
EC.A	4	21.48	.001	28.42	.001
EC.A	4	6.11	.191	13.05	.011
CA.E	4	60.57	.001	67.51	.001
ECA	8	21.93	.005		